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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 26 May 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to attach to this letter a copy, in English and French, of an address by the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Brian Mulroney, delivered in your presence at Montreal on 24 May 1992 (see annex).

As you know, during his remarks Prime Minister Mulroney referred extensively to the United Nations, including ways to strengthen its peace-keeping and peacemaking abilities, as well as means to resolve its current financial difficulties. The Prime Minister also spoke about the specific situations in the former Yugoslav republics, including the very dangerous situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I would be grateful if you would have this letter and its attachment circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 68, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Louise FRECHETTE
Ambassador and
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Office of the Prime Minister

Cabinet du Premier ministre

CANADA

# NOTES FOR AN ADDRESS

BY

PRIME MINISTER BRIAN MULRONEY

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF YOUNG LEADERS

MONTREAL

MAY 24, 1992

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Winston Churchill once wrote that "the world was made to be wooed and won by youth." You have assembled together here, in Montreal, at the dawn of a new age. Never has the opportunity to win the world been greater. Never has the world stood in greater need of the idealism and principles of youth.

The 20th century will soon go into the history books and it is likely to be seen as the most momentous and the most civilized of all time but, also, the most murderous and the most destructive. It is a century that has seen space conquered and humanity's gaze extended to the very edge of the universe. But it is also a time in which more than 500,000 women die each year from pregnancy-related causes, 99 percent of them in developing countries. And 40,000 babies die every day in the Third World, for want of a simple rehydration kit, each of which costs a good deal less than a taxi ride from here to your hotels. It has been a century in which powerful ideas have contested for the hearts and minds of people around the world and in which democracy has firmly and finally prevailed. But it is also a century in which we have witnessed world wars and civil wars, limited wars and police actions, in which almost 200 million people have died, many of them in the name of excessive nationalism. And it is also a world where new threats to international security have emerged; environmental degradation so severe as to threaten the health of people worldwide; drug abuse so destructive that the very fabric of societies in producer and consumer countries alike are gravely weakened; and poverty so pervasive and unyielding as to mock the very idea of progress.

With the end of the Cold War, the most important question humanity now faces is whether the old order will be replaced by competition and disorder or by cooperation and common purpose, whether the forces of nationalism and globalisation can be reconciled and harnessed for the benefit of all. I believe that the answer to that question will be found in the vision and the evolution of the United Nations.

Canada has always been a strong supporter of the United Nations. Canadians had a hand in drafting both the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We have served on the Security Council five times and we currently serve on the executive boards and governing councils of many of the organization's key agencies. Canada has participated in virtually every peace-keeping operation since the concept was invented by Canadian Nobel Laureate and former Prime Minister, Lester Pearson.

From the Pearson Commission on development to the Bruntland Commission on the environment, from the World Food Program to the World's Summit for Children, which I had the privilege of co-chairing, the United Nations has been indispensable in promoting national cooperation on global issues. Next month in Rio, the U.N. will sponsor a conference on the environment and development which will set an agenda for global environmental cooperation for a decade to come. In 1993, there will be a world conference on human rights; in 1994, there will be a world conference on population and development; and, in 1995, a world conference on women's rights.

These conferences, collectively, will put the U.N. at the epicentre of global change but ensuring international security in the years to come is likely to remain the U.N.'s chief preoccupation and to be the U.N.'s most difficult challenge. To meet that challenge will require a change in attitudes both about the U.N.'s mission and about its means.

With the end of the Cold War, encouraging progress has been possible, under the wise and impressive stewardship of Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the recently retired U.N. Secretary General. His successor, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has picked up where Mr. Perez de Cuellar left off and has brought vision, strength and skill to the task of accelerating the pace of reform. In the short time since he has taken office, he has demonstrated a clear commitment to adapt the institution to the times. We are particularly pleased, Mr. Secretary General, with your appointment of a high-level Coordinator for Humanitarian Emergencies.

The U.N. regular budget this year will total $1.03 billion. This regular budget does not include the U.N.'s agencies, such as UNICEF, the United Nations Development Program and the World Food Program which are financed on a voluntary basis at a cost of several billions of dollars more. This year's peace-keeping budget, also paid by assessments, is expected to exceed $2.5 billion, the highest in history.

With a population approaching only 28 million, 31st in the world, Canada is the eighth largest contributor to both the U.N.'s regular budget and its peace-keeping budget. Our annual share of the regular budget and peace-keeping budget and our contributions to all U.N. agencies and operations exceeds $1 billion per year. These are large sums of money but compared to the benefits these programs provide humanity and to the shares which individual countries pay, they are the bargain of the 20th Century.The price of two B2 bombers would cover the entire cost of U.N. peace-keeping.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali is providing welcome leadership, but U.N. reform depends in the first place on the political will of member states. Money is the clearest measure of political will and, regrettably, some member countries still consider their U.N. obligations to be optional. As of April 30, member countries owed the U.N. a total of $1.9 billion, for its regular budget and peace-keeping operations. Governments are right to ask the U.N. Secretariat to meet the highest management standards. And the Secretary General has introduced a number of steps to increase efficiency. But no amount of managerial effectiveness will overcome the deficits and cash flow shortfalls that the U.N. is asked to handle. As of May 21, only 14 countries had paid their full assessments for both the regular and peace-keeping budgets. The Secretary General of the U.N., the holder of one of the most important offices in the world, should not be treated as a modern-day mendicant, forced to wander around wealthy capitals, imploring the decision-makers to pay their bills so that the U.N. can do its job. He must be free to devote his entire time and energy to running the U.N. and solving global problems, rather than passing the hat for peace and security.

It is firm Canadian Government policy to pay its share of the U.N. regular budget on the first day of the U.N.'s fiscal year, January 1. And it is now also firm Canadian Government policy to pay our other assessments on the day they are due. I call upon the political leadership in the debtor countries also to pay their assessments in full and on the dates due.

If the Security Council is to cope with emerging challenges, it too will eventually have to adapt. A year ago, I called for reforms so that the permanent membership of the Security Council would reflect the world as it is today and not as it was in 1945. We believe that the test of membership, as the U.N. Charter itself says, should be the capacity and willingness of individual countries to contribute to international peace and security and to the U.N.'s other purposes. Former President Gorbachev had this test in mind when he recommended in his Fulton, Missouri, speech earlier this month, permanent membership in an expanded Security Council for Japan and Germany, the second and third most powerful economies in the world, and for other leading contributors to U.N. affairs. In any case, permanent Security Council membership should not forever be the privilege of nuclear weapons states.

Canada's goal has always been to secure an effective and active role for the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. Encouraging progress has been made recently in the U.N.'s vigorous reaction to Iraqi aggression, in its imposition of sanctions on Libya for state-sponsored terrorism and in its comprehensive approaches to peace-keeping in El Salvador and Cambodia. But more progress is needed. The first article of its Charter authorizes the U.N. to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace. This means timely action by the U.N. to forestall incipient conflicts, leadership by the U.N. to bring people to the negotiating table and follow-through by the U.N. to support agreements concluded.

To fulfil this responsibility, the U.N. and its Secretary General must be allowed to engage actively in preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-keeping. Canada strongly supports the Secretary General's proposals for the creation of an emergency peace-keeping start-up fund and an increase in the U.N.'s spending authority to ensure that the organization can respond quickly and effectively to crises. The Secretary General is also right when he argues that the U.N. cannot do it all on its own; regional organizations have a responsibility to act first, as the Charter makes clear. But, while regional organizations have a role to play, they cannot substitute for the unique moral authority of the United Nations. Moral authority sometimes requires back-up by military muscle to be effective, as contemplated by the U.N. Charter itself.

It is clear that traditional peace-keeping nations are encountering increasing difficulty in supplying the demand for forces. The Cold War prevented the United States and the Soviet Union from participating fully in U.N. peace-keeping operations. Cold War calculations are history, now, and Russia has begun to contribute

forces for U.N. operations. Canada would welcome increased participation by both Russian and American forces in peace-keeping operations.Canada would also welcome changes to German and Japanese law to permit U.N. service by their soldiers.

Canada, along with some other nations, maintains troops under national command on standby for peace-keeping. We encourage all member states also to earmark forces for U.N. peace-keeping tasks. Canada also provides officers to the U.N. Secretariat to assist in the planning and conduct of peace-keeping operations. We are prepared to increase such assistance.

Peace-keeping is not cheap -- the force in Yugoslavia will cost $650 million this year. But compared to even the financial price of war -- $1 billion a day in the Persian Gulf -- let alone its carnage and destruction, peace-keeping is very cost-effective.

The demand for U.N. intervention is certain to grow; the end of the Cold War brought many benefits but it also lifted the lid off ethnic conflicts. Less than 10 percent of the states comprising the United Nations are ethnically homogeneous. In Africa, colonialism imposed 52 nation states onto the map of a thousand tribal nations. Southern Asia, the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Middle East are all crazy quilts of ethnic enclaves and ancient hatreds. Many have learned to live together peacefully, even profitably, and will continue to do so. But others have not. In Somalia, marauding gangs are shooting their country back into the stone age. Meanwhile, the Secretary General of the United Nations struggles to enlist the political will of member countries and their resources to end the suffering, there.

In Yugoslavia, where no one could have been in any doubt what was going to happen, the world has been, at best, dilatory and dangerously indifferent. Canada called for U.N. intervention last September and offered soldiers and equipment to help. It took until April for the U.N. Security Council to authorize a full peace-keeping force. The presence of 13,000 U.N. soldiers, including 1,300 Canadians, has brought some relief to a brutalized population in the Croatia-Serbia border area but it has not stopped war from spreading to the other parts of this beautiful and formerly inviting land. The tragic story of Yugoslavia shows that, once unleashed, ethnic conflicts are exceedingly difficult to stop.

The U.N. and its member-states must be prepared to intervene earlier and stronger in the future to prevent such disasters. But what happens when, as in Yugoslavia, disaster cannot be prevented? What kind of signal does it send elsewhere when the world turns a blind eye to the carnage there? Bosnia and Herzegovina followed the rules established by the U.N., the European Community and the CSCE in achieving independence. They took the world's word, but they were left to fend for themselves against heavily armed opposition. The result has been, in the words of the Bosnian foreign minister, "a disgrace for humanity".

As is painfully obvious in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the U.N.'s capability to intervene effectively on behalf of the innocents is inadequate. The U.N. needs to review urgently the full range of options available to it to preserve international peace and security. And member states must find within themselves the political will to use all of the instruments the Charter provides.

Earlier, today, I discussed the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina with Secretary General Boutros-Ghali. Yesterday afternoon, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Barbara McDougall, met in Lisbon with her Bosnian counterpart, Mr. Haris Silajdzec, as well. Clearly the situation is both very dangerous and very worrying. There is always ample responsibility to be shared by the parties when nationalism turns violent. In light of these discussions and of other consultations with allies, and in order to encourage a return to reason, the Government of Canada has decided today to take the following actions.

1. I have directed our U.N. Ambassador Louise Fréchette to ask the President of the Security Council to convene an urgent, formal meeting to impose economic, trade and oil sanctions against the Belgrade regime.

2. Canada will, also, urge the Security Council to take steps so that U.N.-escorted relief convoys can reach civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, for humanitarian reasons, so that the Sarajevo airport is open.

3. The landing rights in Canada of JAT Yugoslav airlines are being suspended.

4. The Canadian Ambassador to Belgrade is being recalled for consultations.

5. The Yugoslav Consulate in Toronto will be closed and its diplomats will leave Canada. The recently closed consulate in Vancouver will not be allowed to reopen. These measures are designed to demonstrate the determination of Canada and of the international community as a whole to end the bloodshed in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Last fall, at Stanford University, I called for a more interventionist role for the United Nations, and I spoke of the need to balance the doctrine of national sovereignty with the universal values of human rights. The U.N. Charter makes an eloquent appeal for "respect for...human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." In this era, and more so with every day that passes, the interests of nation states and the imperatives of geopolitics must be subordinated to the interests and well-being of people. Indeed, as Flora Lewis wrote in yesterday's New York Times, "the modern world is eroding the notion of absolute and exclusive nation states." The protection of universal human rights is the issue on which modern diplomacy will increasingly be axed.

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In such a world, the U.N. should become progressively more important but, as always, the U.N.'s effectiveness will depend on the political will of the nations that comprise its membership. I can state to all here present that the political will for a strong U.N. exists in Canada. I assure you, Mr. Secretary General, and the young men and women present today that the United Nations and its well-being will remain a vital and unshakable cornerstone of Canada's foreign policy. And I guarantee the representatives of the world's youth gathered in Montreal, today, that Canada will do its share and more to ensure that the United Nations enters the next century ready and able to help you all build a better world.

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